New Orleans Convention Issue

The Southern PATRIOT

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"We hold the South's interests to be the Nation's interest; the Nation's, the South's. We commend the cause and the concerns of the South to our friends everywhere, and we accept our obligations to serve them as members of an interdependent society"—*from the First Resolution adopted by the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare meeting in Carpenters Hall, New Orleans, November 28-30, 1946.*

The Organized Army of Southern Progress

Thanksgiving day dawned gray and cheerless. Picking up the morning paper, delegates from all over the South who had come to New Orleans to attend the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare learned there was a fight on. The Municipal Auditorium Commission had made an arbitrary, last-minute ruling that it would be Jim Crow or no go at the opening session that evening to be addressed by Claude Pepper and Mary McLeod Bethune. Conference officials had met and announced that the Convention would open on a democratic basis in Carpenters Hall.

That evening 1200 people crowded into the Hall and hundreds had to be turned away. Delegates had come from all Southern states and from practically all walks of life. With them were hundreds of New Orleans citizens who were hearing the message of the Conference for the first time. At the back of the stage, twenty-five feet long, was the Convention slogan: "Free Democracy's Resources. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare Works for a Prosperous, Progressive South."

Rev. John B. Thompson of Norman, Oklahoma, invoked the spirit of brotherhood, unity and determination to build a better human life in the South. Gladys Jones, gifted New Orleans vocal artist, sang the national anthem. SCHW President Clark Foreman opened the Convention on the note that "The South has all the requirements for prosperity if only our people will unite in a firm determination not to sell our birthright for a mess of prejudice."

Mary McLeod Bethune and Claude Pepper delivered addresses which could never be eradicated from the memories of those who heard them. When Mrs. Bethune declared "With the franchise, we must get our justice," the audience recognized that history was being made. When Senator Pepper called for "breaking the stranglehold of monopoly on the South" and pointed to the Conference as "an indispensable counter-force to the dangerous trends of the day," it was fully recognized that a fighting convention had begun.

Aubrey Williams, Editor of *The Southern Farmer*, made an appeal for financial support to widen the work of the Conference and an interracial group of attractive New Orleans co-eds collected the gifts and pledges. The audience contributed $3400. Gladys Jones sang "God, We Thank Thee" and Rev. N. A. Holmes, of New Orleans pronounced the benediction.

As the crowd surged out onto Carondelet Street, there was a feeling of triumph and of promise in the air. New Orleans folk were saying, "I never expected to live long enough to attend a meeting here like this." SCHW delegates from out-of-town were saying, "Wait till I tell the people back home. We can do it there, too."

Friday morning delegates and members were back at Carpenters Hall again. After a brief business session at which committees were appointed, Lewis Jones, Editor of *The Informer* Publications, Houston, took the chair to open the discussion of "The Economic South." Aubrey Williams delivered the main address, penetrating deeply into the challenges to the South of greater industrialization, more secure farming, and federal responsibility for economic and social development. A diversified group of discussants from labor, business and economic research kept the picture in sharp focus as floor discussion and questions poured forth.

The session ended with Aubrey Williams' observation that "When Bilbo did not carry a single hill county, where the small farmers live, there is something to count on in 'them hills'; when Folsom sweeps Alabama with his common man's program there is something in Alabama to count on; when Talmadge gets only 42 out of 100 votes there is something to count on in Georgia."

This set the stage for the afternoon's session on "The Political South." Tarleton Collier, Associate Editor of The Louisville *Courier-Journal*, was in the chair and Palmer Weber, of Charlottsville, Virginia, Research Director of CIO-PAC, led the discussion. Consultants included five SCHW state executive secretaries, Osceola McKaine, formerly SCHW Field Representative, and Monroe Stringer, New Orleans AFL labor leader.

Calling for "millions of new voters in the South through abolition of the poll tax and other restrictions on voting," Weber stated that the Conference "expects to work in every election in every area of Southern life which is dominated by reaction today."

Despite the allurements of the Old French Quarter, everybody and a few more were back for the third time Friday evening for the session on "The Arts in Political Action" co-chaired by Lewis Frank, paper manufacturer and public relations consultant, and Professor Robert D. Feild, Director of the Newcomb School of Art, New Orleans. Three excellent movies on labor's role in politics, Negro-white unity, and inter-denominational tolerance, were exhibited as samples of new, creative ways in which the progressive fight can be brought to the people.

The next morning's Times-Picayune indicated that the Convention had become big local news. A three column article beginning with a two-column head on page one gave a very fair and adequate account of Friday's proceedings. Liberal people in New Orleans agreed that its rounded progressive content was unprecedented in local daily journalism, and thanked the Convention for making it possible.

Dean Elizabeth Wisner of the Tulane University School of Social Work chaired the Saturday morning session on "Social Welfare in the South." This dealt with the human end-results which must accompany, and at the same time be the fruits of, a sounder Southern economy and a more democratic Southern polity. Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, Dean of the Howard University School of Medicine, discussed "Health." Professor Ferdinand L. Rousseve of Xavier University, New Orleans, read a paper on "Education" prepared by Dr. N. C. Newbold, Department of Public Instruction, North Carolina, who was unable to be present. Discussion on this subject was led by Professor Harlan Gilmore of Tulane University, New Orleans. "Housing" was discussed by Anna Berenson, social welfare consultant of the United Auto Workers. Lillie H. Nairne, Direc-

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THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

CLARK FOREMAN, *President*
TARLETON COLLIER, *Secretary*
J. DANIEL WHITEMAN, *Treasurer*

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, *Administrator*
FRANK C. BANCROFT, *Assistant Administrator and Editor*

tor of the New Orleans Department of Public Welfare, discussed "Social Security."

This session was particularly marked by the vitality and breadth of audience discussion. "Social Welfare" struck home to everybody and it was evident that SCHW delegates and members from Virginia to Texas had been working for it both in the cities and on the countryside.

Saturday afternoon the sun came out and the French Quarter still beckoned, but the members and delegates were back in Carpenters Hall to do business. They adopted a 14-point program of action for 1947-48. They adopted six resolutions. They adopted a budget. And they elected a Board of Representatives and Officers of the Conference.

Probably no other organization but the Southern Conference would have scheduled a convention session for Saturday evening in the city to which people are supposed to come to forget the cares of life. But scheduled it was and, since the Municipal Auditorium Commission continued to insist upon setting up a new and legally unfounded policy of racial segregation in that publicly owned meeting place, the Convention turned again, for its second mass meeting, to the democratic hospitality of the Carpenters Union. Again the Hall was crowded and people had to be turned away.

After Rabbi Emil Leipziger of New Orleans had pronounced the invocation and Margaret Fisher, Committee for Georgia executive secretary, had led in the singing of the national anthem, Clark Foreman, unanimously re-elected SCHW President, declared: "I am grateful for the opportunity to serve once again as President of an organization which has been, and will increasingly be instrumental in making our American practices coincide with our fundamental American principles. The enormity of our task does not frighten a single member of the Conference, nor do the irresponsible charges and threats of those who are gripped with fear when they think that American principles may actually be put into practice in their own home-towns."

Contrasting Governor Arnall with another type of Southern politician, Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, stated: "When the world, and particularly the South, sees two of the three Americans representing us at the peace-table occupying positions of world importance which they attained largely through disfranchisement, lynching and the denial to their fellow-Americans of opportunity and justice solely because of skin color, can there be much wonder why some Southern youth believe they must follow such examples to attain power?"

Margaret Fisher, SCHW Committee for Georgia Executive Secretary, leads the public session of November 30th in singing the national anthem. Walter White, NAACP Secretary, one of the evening's principal speakers, is in the center front. Others on the stage include Clark Foreman, SCHW President, James Dombrowski, SCHW Administrator and members of the SCHW Board and State Committees.

Following two songs by 10-year-old Georgiana Fried, Clark Foreman presented the Conference's Thomas Jefferson Award to Governor Arnall. The Governor's response to a barrage of editorial criticism which had been levelled at him following the announcement that he would come to New Orleans to accept the award was to assert: "I appreciate the award which this organization has made to me. I appreciate it deeply because it is made in the name of that American who, more than any other, was the clear-eyed visionary of freedom, a forceful spirit for freedom, and the patient artificer who built freedom."

Stating that "Fascism and Communism are equally distasteful to me," the Governor asserted: "Personally, I consider the danger of Fascism more immediate and serious in the United States than the danger of Communism . . . . The American menace comes from the extreme right, where men of ill will are deliberately using the lunatic fringe to create a condition favorable to the establishment of a totalitarian state.

"I say that because, unlike many of you who are here tonight who are social scientists, I am only a country man from a cotton mill town that has a public square, and a Confederate monument, and a preponderantly middle class population; and as a country man I know that such organizations as the Columbians, and such peddlers of hate as the hundreds of slimy little racial and class sheets that are distributed and broadcast, not only in the South but throughout our common country, cost a great deal more money to support than the riffraff that front for these groups can raise from deluded and neurotic followers."

The Convention ended with the Governor's challenge that "In a democracy the function of government is to promote justice, to care for the needs of society by the performances of those functions that men can carry forward best upon a collective basis and to preserve for men yet to come—for our grandsons' and granddaughters' grandchildren—freedom and an opportunity for self-respect."

On this note Conference members—and there are hundreds of new ones as a result of the Convention—jumped into jallopies, buses and trains, or onto New Orleans trolleys, and went home ready for action in the organized army of Southern democratic progress.

"Let the Voices Thunder Forth with Power . . ."

Mary McLeod Bethune

Let the voices of the Peppers, the Grahams, the Arnalls, the Raineys, the Blacks and the Foremans thunder forth with power and conviction. Let us give volume and vital significance to the philosophy which they utter and practice. Let them speak for full and fair employment. Let us realize that full and fair employment are altogether desirable and that we cannot rest until all have the equal opportunity to work at the fullest capacity of their skills.

Educational, economic and health conditions must be equalized for all peoples. The share-croppers, the common neglected and oppressed people of the South, white and black alike, appeal through the Southern Conference for Human Welfare for the elimination of hate and the stimulation of love, for the annihilation of segregation and discrimination, for the abolition of the poll tax and mob violence.

Today the cry is for freedom to be, to do and to have, regardless of race, color or creed. For this freedom the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is willing to fight. We are willing to inform ourselves of the needs. We are willing to dedicate ourselves to meeting those needs courageously and consistently. We are determined to promote the general welfare of all mankind and preserve to ourselves and to our posterity the security which is the abundant life. May God give us the wisdom and the discipline and the creative energy to continue our fight.

Claude Pepper

It is a peculiar paradox that, just as we won the greatest victory in the greatest war in history for democracy, and while the world is moving rapidly and more generally toward democracy than ever before, here in America we are being told that we should have not more democracy but less.

Here in America we are being admonished to turn our backs upon all we have accomplished in our long and glorious past: to abandon the poor to the oppression and the pillaging of the rich, to add strength only to the strong, and to withhold the succor and authority of Government from the helpless and handicapped.

We are being told that the American way of life is the retrogressive way back to the jungle where the animal law of sheer brute strength shall prevail and where man shall be governed by the simple plan: **he may take who has the power and he may keep who can.** Yes, we are being told that the only way America can be American is to adopt a philosophy of laissez-faire—let everybody alone, let nature take its course, let inflation rob the people of their substance and depression finish the job. Let Government stand by, as one said, helpless as the impotent man at the springs of Bethesda.

I believe it is the spirit and sentiment of the thinking people of America, the people blinded neither by prejudice nor power nor profit, that we have just begun the great war for democracy. Let us, the South, not be regarded as obstructors of democracy, but leaders along that highroad of democracy in the trying days ahead as we led the Nation in the founding days of the Republic toward a new concept of human happiness.

Walter White

Until the primaries of 1946, the greatest number of voters in Georgia was around 800,000. This year a million Georgians voted, of whom approximately 100,000 were Negroes. Thus, some 600,000 more white Georgians were permitted to vote and were interested enough to vote than has ever been the case before. The majority of them voted for a candidate who was believed to be of the same intelligent persuasion as Governor Arnall.

Unfortunately, under the county unit system, a demagogue was elected. But even Talmadge will not be able to wipe out the vision of honest, decent government which the present Government has given to Georgia. In this circumstance, there is room for hope.

In Alabama enlightenment and progress have received a temporary setback by passage of the Boswell Amendment designed frankly to circumvent the United States Supreme Court's white primary decision. But a considerable number of enlightened voters of Alabama saw the viciousness behind the Boswell Amendment and voted against it.

I pledge here tonight and serve notice upon the Boswells of Alabama and of the South generally that the legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will challenge the constitutionality of the Boswell Amendment in the courts up to and including the United States Supreme Court. We are confident that in that tribunal it will go down to defeat as other strategems of disfranchisement have been outlawed.

Ellis Arnall

We are living in the South, in a section of America that has suffered from colonialism and exploitation to such an extent that no comparison is possible with any other civilized and self-governing section of the world. Our dynamic democracy, above all things, must express itself in practical accomplishments.

We must give attention to the education and health of our people. Education must teach our people to be good providers and good citizens. Provisions for the health of our people include better housing, better public health facilities, better hospitals, more doctors, especially in the rural areas.

To pay for these things and to support a standard of living that will permit the people to obtain good housing, good food and good clothing for themselves, we need to work out an agrarian-industrial system that provides full employment at the highest level of skill possible for every person in the South able and willing to work. This means making the most of our climatic and geographic advantages and putting for all time an end to colonialism.

We need, in the South, a reorganization of the professions and service trades, until the proportion of the population thus employed approximates the national level.

We need a system of public works that will enable us to develop our section in an orderly fashion. In this the South has a right to demand and expect that the Federal Government will participate in an extraordinary degree. Subsidies for the development of other sections have poured out of the Federal Treasury for 120 years. It is time that some of the money of our common country was spent in the section that won the Revolution for us.

Finally, the South needs a revaluation of its government at every level from national to village so that it can be made more serviceable to all the people. It is plain foolishness to talk about government in any terms except public

service and public welfare. The democrat knows that government has no rights and that the function of government is to see that the individual is able to maintain his rights, enjoy the fruits of his labor and enjoy this good earth upon which its Creator smiled when he found that his creation was good.

Aubrey Williams

What is likely to be the attitude of the party in power toward the general proposition upon which the New Deal was founded—namely, that *Government* has a responsibility for what happens to *people?* It seems to me that the answer to this question must be: It depends upon what things are involved.

There can't be much question that when it's wages and hours you are talking about, those now writing the ticket are dead set against the Government having any part in the argument. If on the other hand it has to do with rates of tariff which shall be levied, then it is indubitably a matter for Government. If it is lowering the bars to give small farmers rates of interests which are not ten, fifteen, or twenty-nine per cent (as Professor Forester of North Carolina State College found had to be paid by small farmers in nine North Carolina counties on money) then it is completely subversive for the government to be interfering with the normal operation of credit in free enterprise. But if it happens to be that Texas peons get obstreperous and demand fifty cents a day more, it is clear that it is the proper function of government to import additional Mexicans to harvest the crops of Texas.

The South in self-defense should fight every effort to weaken the Federal structure of labor legislation. It should oppose with all vigor efforts to weaken the legal structure of social security. The South must depend upon these Federal structures to a greater degree than any other section.

"The Economic South" was discussed by (left to right, seated) Frank Prohl, Chairman, Southern Conference of Teamsters, AFL; Lewis Jones, Editor, The Informer Publications, Houston; Aubrey Williams, Editor "The Southern Farmer"; (left to right, standing) Edward M. Stone, CIO Public Relations Director, New Orleans; Alfred R. Leiserson, paper manufacturer and Treasurer, SCHW Virginia Committee; and A. G. Mezerik, industrial consultant and author of "Revolt of the South and West."

Thanks, New Orleans

The convention wishes to express its profound appreciation to the people of New Orleans for their hospitality and their vital interest in the program of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as expressed by their attendance at convention sessions and by their generous financial support.

Also deeply appreciated is the work of the Committee for Louisiana in preparation for this convention; the news coverage of the convention by the local press and radio, which has been fair and adequate; the cooperation of the management of Colonial Auditorium, owned by the Carpenters Union AFL, which, unlike the Municipal Auditorium Commission, places no arbitrary barriers in the way of the democratic right of free assembly; and the contribution to the success of the program sessions by many leaders of New Orleans religious, educational, labor, business and civic activities. — *Resolution unanimously passed at final business session of the Convention.*

Clark Foreman

The announcement of the plans for our meetings here in New Orleans started the usual flood of rumors always circulated by those who oppose democratic action and fear the people. The attempts at promoting hysteria have failed, as they must always fail, when intelligent people are given the chance to examine the facts at first hand.

I would like to call upon the two major parties of our country to put into practice in their Southern organizations the policies they so beautifully phrase when they incorporate them into their political platforms.

These policies, if I may use the expression of the press when it describes the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, represent "laudable objectives." We would like to see action by the major parties in behalf of the "laudable objectives" they periodically espouse.

Let me urge you devoted members of the Conference, you who are delegates from each of the Southern states, to return to your homes and tell the people to join with us in carrying forward a program for progress.

You will have the assistance, the capable assistance, of the staff of the Southern Conference and the growing staffs of each of its state committees. It will be a struggle. The fight for freedom and the fights to preserve freedom have never been easy. But the fight will be won. There is nothing that can stop a people bent on putting into practice our fundamental American principles of equal opportunity and equal justice.

"We, the Members of the Southern Conference . . ."

Seven resolutions were adopted at the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in New Orleans November 28-30. The first one, covering many resolutions submitted from all over the South, is printed in full below.

Other resolutions unanimously adopted call for a full-scale attack upon the Ku Klux Klan; a renewed defense of civil liberties of all citizens; prosecution of the 30-odd native Facists under indictment for sedition; publication of the Rogge Report; full support to the U. S. Department of Justice in its program to combat juvenile delinquency.

Dr. Frank P. Graham was unanimously re-elected Honorary President of the Conference and appreciation was expressed to "the people of New Orleans for their hospitality and their vital interest in the program of the Conference."

We, the members of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, are met in New Orleans at the season of thanksgiving. We join all other Americans in thanks for the freedom we enjoy with them to think and speak according to the dictates of our minds and hearts.

We give thanks for the blessings of existence in a society and under a form of government that more than any other assures this freedom. We are mindful that perfection, in our condition no less than in ourselves as individuals, is not yet attained. But we are grateful that we share a common title to democratic institutions—political, social, religious and economic—so full of vitality and inherent power to redeem us.

We declare our faith in America. We are confident of the fulfillment of democracy and ideal development of mankind to which it is consecrated.

We reaffirm our purpose " . . . to promote the general welfare and to improve the economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual conditions of the people of the South without regard to race, creed, color or national origin."

We hold the South's interests to be the Nation's interest; the Nation's, the South's. We commend the cause and the concerns of the South to our friends everywhere, and we accept our obligation to serve them as members of an inter-dependent society.

To this end, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare urges the widespread extension of regional planning after the model of the Tennessee Valley Authority. We endorse plans for a Missouri Valley Authority and other proposals in the same pattern elsewhere. Particularly in the South is there need not only for development and use, but for salvage after long neglect, misuse, and exploitation, of natural resources and latent wealth.

We deplore the South's lag below national levels of income, the result of unequal advantages. To fight these without ceasing is our dedication. As an immediate practical step we urge swift passage in the 80th Congress of legislation for a minimum wage of 65 cents an hour. We commend the tireless efforts of our guest at this meeting, Senator Claude Pepper, to bring it about. We shall insist on the complete adoption of his proposals, in this connection, to increase the minimum to 70 cents after 12 months, to 75 cents in 24 months. We condemn as a disservice of their own people the opposition to this legislation by certain other Southern representatives in the Senate and lower House.

We urge upon Southern members of Congress initiative and active advocacy in connection with pending bills to enlarge the Social Security system. We bespeak this in the name of 22,000,000 workers in the United States, more than 8,000,000 of whom are our neighbors

SCHW PROGRAM FOR 1947-1948

As voted by the membership at the New Orleans Convention, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare will work, during 1947-1948 for:

Resource Planning and Development

(1) Better utilization of the great resources and natural wealth of the South by local and regional planning, along the lines developed with such conspicuous success by the TVA.

Living Standards

(2) Raising the per capita income, and the housing, health, educational, and recreational opportunities of all Southerners at least to the national level.

Industry and Freight Rates

(3) More rapid development of industry, Southern owned, and free from discriminatory freight rates and other restrictions preventing competition with other regions on a parity basis.

Agriculture

(4) A more prosperous and diversified agricultural economy, with the same living conditions, health, education, housing and social security for farmers and agricultural workers enjoyed by urban communities.

Collective Bargaining

(5) To extend the practice of collective bargaining as an application of the democratic process to economic life.

Civil Rights

(6) To protect the civil rights of all persons, including the right of all citizens to cast their ballot free from (a poll tax and other) arbitrary restrictions, and opposing all intolerance and discrimination based on race, creed, religion and nationality.

Political Action

(7) To work for majority rule in the 13 Southern states by increasing the vote to at least 50% of the potential electorate; to disseminate information on voting records of candidates; to elect to office progressive candidates truly responsive to human welfare.

World Citizenship Good Citizenship

(8) To work for a more prosperous and democratic Southland as our best contribution to a peaceful and democratic world; yet not shirking our responsibility as citizens of a national and worldwide community.

Veterans Welfare

(9) To seek and support the enforcement and extension of veterans' rights and benefits with particular emphasis upon veterans' housing and employment.

Cooperatives

(10) To encourage and support consumers' and producers' cooperatives.

Legislation

(11) To support legislation on a local, state and national level in implementation of this program.

Educational Campaign

(12) To conduct an intensive and broad educational campaign, utilizing conferences, publications, radio, films, records, posters, and other modern media of communication to give the facts, aid understanding and stimulate action on issues relevant to this program.

Cooperation With Other Agencies

(13) To cooperate with other agencies in obtaining our objectives.

in the South—farm workers, domestic workers, casual workers and the self-employed. We support the intent of the Forand Bill, designed to cover the gaps in the present patchwork system of domestic security.

In the steps for perfection of the Social Security system, we ask recognition of the fact that this region is less able than others to match Federal funds. The system must be revised in this respect with fewer burdensome and punitive requirements. Benefits must be equalized. In the words of Senator Pepper to this body, "We are one nation and one people."

In this connection, as a further step toward removing the imbalance of the Nation, we urge Federal aid for equalization of educational opportunities.

We urge an extension of public medical care programs and the provision of a national health insurance plan, along with a program of adequate medical research and the further training of needed professional personnel. Under the National Hospital Construction Act, we urge special emphasis and priority for installations in rural areas.

We appeal to our representatives in Congress for understanding of our needs and for fair and enlightened interpretation. It is a point of regret that a Southerner introduced, and that Southerners have supported in the House, the Bulwinkle Bill to relieve railroads of liability under anti-trust laws in rate-fixing. This is a step toward perpetuation of the structure of monopoly which must be destroyed if economic democracy is to survive.

The interest of the South in freight rates is vital. The colonial nature of our enterprises must be changed. Advances have been made toward removing the historical iniquity of unequal freight rates, but there is much yet to be done. We applaud particularly the aggressive campaign to this end by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, who has taken the fight directly to the Supreme Court of the United States.

There must be a better balance between industry and agriculture in the South. More than half the farmers of the Nation live in the region served by this Conference, and their average income significantly is little more than half the national average for farm dwellers. For all the progress made in recent years, Southern agriculture is faced by critical problems arising from its past, from falling prices for farm products and from mechanization and conversion from the old system of cotton slavery.

We urge as the most promising means to the solution of these problems the representative self - organization of working farmers; the strengthening of Federal programs for the preservation and extension of the family-type farm; legislation making for fairer leases; the development of a widespread network of cooperatives; the development of reforestation and enlarged programs of rebuilding wasted land.

The lot of the worker is our paramount concern. Mindful of the efforts now underway to weaken the National Labor Relations Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Southern Conference reaffirms its support of these pillars of labor security. Less than one-fourth of Southern non-farm workers are organized in unions and thus the majority is deprived of the benefits of collective bargaining; and this, although the guarantee of the right of collective bargaining has been accepted by the Nation, in its laws, as a democratic principle.

Poor and insufficient housing is a particular problem of the South. Our disparity of advantages in this field is well known, beyond the present emergency and the special case of the homeless veteran. We repeat our appeal to President Truman to stand firmly back of Wilson Wyatt* and the emergency housing program and to protect the administrator and the program from their enemies—the enemies of the veteran. And beyond this, we urge upon our representatives support for immediate passage of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill for a long-range housing program.

We endorse legislation lowering the voting age to 18 years. A man or woman old enough to fight or to serve our country is old enough to vote. We applaud the initiative taken in this respect by Georgia, and urge the same step for other States and for the Nation.

We endorse unqualified the demands for home rule and national representation in the United States Congress by popular free elections of the people of the District of Columbia.

We insist that there can be no complete and effective democracy while demagogues like Bilbo and Talmadge, like the advocates of the infamous Boswell Amendment to the Alabama Constitution, ply their doctrines of hate, restriction and discrimination. We condemn, as a particularly reprehensible development calling for special action, the campaign by Theodore G. Bilbo and its incitement to denial of American liberties.

Bilbo has openly, brazenly, designedly and wilfully defied the Constitution and the Supreme Court of the United States by hindering, obstructing and preventing the colored people of his State from registering and voting in direct violation of his oath of office. He has made use of criminal means, inciting to the most extreme of violence. He has corrupted the suffrage. He is wholly disqualified from serving as a United States Senator. We call upon the members of the Senate, of both parties, to see that he is not permitted to take his seat. We insist that there is a legal foundation for this demand.

There was plenty of floor discussion at all the sessions of the Convention.

This Conference will use all means at its disposal to remove discriminations against racial groups, national groups, women and religious groups. We oppose discrimination in:

1. Economic opportunity, wage differentials, and employment; we favor enactment of permanent F. E. P. C. legislation.

2. Housing facilities, recreation, transportation, and in civic and governmental services.

3. Educational opportunities in kind and equality at all levels; we encourage the prosecution of cases such as that of Herman Marion Sweatt in Texas.

4. Participation in civic organizations, Southern chapters of national organizations, trade unions, and all other organizations with practices of discriminatory exclusion.

This Conference will encourage and support the use of all legal, legislative and educational means to remove discriminations and will work to make ours truly "One nation, indivisible."

*This resolution was passed five days before Mr. Wyatt's resignation—*Ed.*

In New Orleans the SWHC Convention Audiences Heard

The Senator Say . . .

I see a vision of a South coming to birth more glorious than anything we have ever experienced in all our glamorous past.

The Teacher Say . . .

I come tonight to challenge you as a crusader to recapture the philosophy and spirit of that great leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Governor Say . . .

There is no ill that afflicts the South or any part of our country that cannot be cured by a good dose of democracy.

The Advocate Say . . .

If democratic government is to survive, its benefits must be enjoyed by every American of whatever section, race or color.

PEPPER

BETHUNE

ARNALL

WHITE

The New Board Says

We, whom the members honored with the responsibility of leadership for 1947-48, pledge to serve the Conference and the South in unity and unshakeable social purpose.

Frank P. Graham, *Honorary President;* Clark H. Foreman, *President;* Paul R. Christopher, Roscoe Dunjee, Virginia Durr, Lewis W. Jones, William Mitch, Harry W. Schacter, *Vice Presidents*: Tarleton Collier, *Secretary;* J. Daniel Weitzman, *Treasurer.*

E. L. Abercrombie, Mary McLeod Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Louis Burnham, Sam Freeman, Helen Fuller, Percy Greene, R. L. Hickman, Myles Horton, J. C. Jacques, Lucy Randolph Mason, Mortimer May, George S. Mitchell, Frank Prohl, Samuel Rodman, Mrs. A. W. Simkins, Alva W. Taylor, John B. Thompson, Charles Weber, *Board of Representatives.*

Henry Fowler, Virginia; Mrs. Harry M. Gershon, Georgia; Joseph L. Johnson, District of Columbia; Lee C. Sheppard, North Carolina; Aubrey Williams, Alabama, *Ex-Officio.*

Melvyn Douglas, Mrs. Marshall Field, Kenneth DeP. Hughes, Michael M. Nisselson, Channing H. Tobias, Henry A. Wallace, Palmer Weber, *Advisory Associates.*

The Membership Says

We say that the people of the South are ready for the greatest economic advance and democratic political awakening in their history. We say they are ready to use the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a mighty weapon for social progress.

We say that *we* are ready to bring in thousands of new members, tens of thousands of new dollars—*now.*

This is how we propose to say it:

☐$100 ☐$50 ☐$25 ☐$10 ☐$5

☐Herewith is cash for the above.

☐Bill me for it on.....

In addition to the above, send me 10 SCHW membership brochures right away. I promise to have them back, with new members' names, as a New Year's Greeting.

Name .....

Address .....

City and State .....